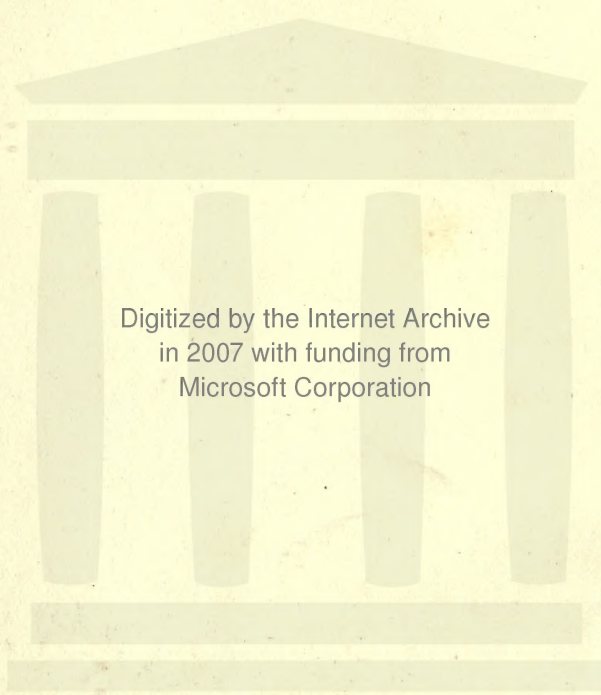


THE ORTHODOX CHURCH
IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
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M. G. DAMPIER

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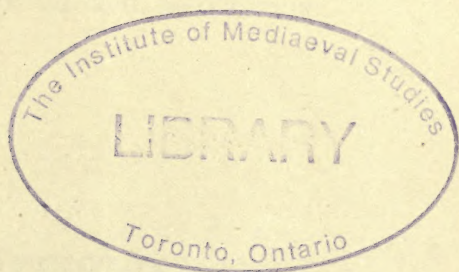
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THE ORTHODOX CHURCH
IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY



History of the Orthodox Church in Austria-Hungary

I.—HERMANNSTADT

BY

MARGARET G. DAMPIER

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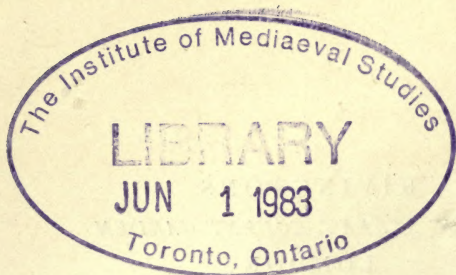
in Austria-Hungary

by

M. RICHARDSON

THE EASTERN CHURCH IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

THE EASTERN CHURCH IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY



PREFACE

IN compiling this little book I have relied chiefly on Archbishop Schaguna, *Geschichte der Griechisch-orientalischen Kirche in Oestreich*. Hermannstadt, 1862; Hurzumaki, *Fragmente zur Geschichte der Rumänen*, vol. ii., Bucharest, 1881; Slavici, *Die Rumänen*, Vienna, 1881; E. von Radič, *Die orthodox-orientalischen Partikularkirchen in den Ländern der ungarischen Krone*, Buda-Pest, 1886; Archbishop Milaš, *Das Kirchenrecht der morgenländischen Kirche*, Zara, 1897; *Archiv für Kirchenrecht*, Innsbruck and Mainz (which contains in full the Organic Statute for the Metropolitanate of Hermannstadt), 1868; Miller, *The Balkans*, 1896; Vambéry, *Hungary*, 1899; and J. H. Schwicker, *Die Länder Oesterreich-Ungarns in Wort und Bild: Siebenburgen*, Vienna, 1881. I have preferred generally to use the name Transylvania, although the province is commonly called Siebenburgen by Austro-Hungarian writers.

M. G. D.

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HISTORY OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

CHAPTER I

THE EARLY HISTORY OF TRANSYLVANIA

THE earliest inhabitants of the province of Transylvania of whom we have certain knowledge were the Getae or Dacians, who meet us frequently in the pages of classical historians. Ancient Dacia was far larger in extent than the present kingdom of Roumania, and included on the north the territory of Transylvania. Its capital city, Sarmizegethusa, occupied the site of what is now the village of Varhely, in the beautiful Hatzeg valley.¹ The Dacians first came into conflict with the Roman power in 111 B.C., when they opposed the Roman armies on the banks of the Danube, and although they were driven back by the Roman general, they continued to harass the Roman provinces as far as Macedonia on the south and the coastlands of Dalmatia on the west. The campaign which Julius Caesar had planned against them was frustrated owing

Ancient
Dacia.

First con-
flicts with
Rome.

¹ Cp. Schwicker, p. 66.

to his murder by Brutus, and the successes of Augustus and Vespasian were only of a temporary character. Both these emperors transported large numbers of the people across the Danube into the Roman province of Moesia.

The peace thus gained was disturbed more seriously than before in 86 A.D. by the invasion of Moesia by a large and well-armed force of Dacians under their king, Decebalus.

Domitian found himself obliged to undertake a campaign against them, of which the results were far from glorious to the Roman arms. Decebalus indeed made terms with the Roman emperor and restored the prisoners whom he had taken, but Domitian was compelled to pay an annual tribute and to acknowledge Decebalus as king of the Dacians.

First
campaign
under
Trajan,
A.D. 98.

Thus matters continued till A.D. 98, when Trajan ascended the imperial throne and refused to continue the tribute. He made immediate preparations for a campaign against Dacia, which, after severe fighting and the endurance of great hardships by the imperial troops, was brought to a successful conclusion by the capture of Sarmizegethusa and the submission of Decebalus. Trajan spared his life, but imposed severe terms, including the dismissal of all Roman deserters who had served in the Dacian army, the surrender of all arms and the destruction of fortresses, and the quartering of a Roman garrison in Sarmizegethusa. Decebalus was compelled to agree, and swore fidelity to Rome; but Trajan had no sooner withdrawn his armies than the Dacian king began preparations for a

fresh revolt. This necessitated a second campaign in 105-106 A.D.

Second
campaign
105-106 A.D.

The Roman armies again advanced into Dacia and were fiercely opposed by the Dacians, who at last, when further resistance was impossible, set fire to their capital, the defenders taking poison rather than fall into the hands of their enemies. Decebalus refused to surrender and committed suicide when the Roman soldiers approached to capture him.

Dacia thus became a Roman province, and Trajan celebrated his hard-earned victory with one of the most magnificent triumphs which Roman history records.

Dacia a
Roman
Province,
106-274
A.D.

Dacia remained under Roman rule till A.D. 274.

The land, which had been greatly depopulated by these devastating campaigns, received a great influx of colonists from all parts of the Roman empire, including Dalmatia, Gaul, and lower Italy. Roman towns sprang up in all parts of the country, but chiefly in places which had already been inhabited by the Dacians. In place of Sarmizegethusa arose the city of Ulpia Trajana, now represented by Varhely, which contains many Roman remains. The Roman occupation brought its usual benefits to the newly-conquered province, although it is evident that the Dacians had made considerable progress in the arts of peace as well as those of war, even before the Roman conquest.

But now, in addition to the growth of new and important towns, such as Apulum (Karlsburg), Napoca (Klausenburg), Potaissa (Thorda), etc., excellent roads were made in all directions, and a great impulse was

given to trade and to the working of the silver, iron, and salt mines.

Of the native inhabitants of Dacia some had fled before the Romans into the fastnesses of the Carpathian mountains, while others remained or returned later and intermarried with the new settlers. Thus a gradual fusion of the two races took place; the old Dacian religion was merged into that of Rome, while the Latin tongue, mixed with many Dacian words, became by degrees the ordinary language of the people.

It is true that at times there were disturbances and revolts in the province, but on the whole all was quiet under the Roman occupation until the first attacks of the barbarians, which began about 120 A.D., under the Emperor Hadrian.

Gothic
Invasion,
247 A.D.

These raids were renewed with greater vigour during the reign of Caracalla (212 A.D.), and in 247 A.D. the first invasion of the Goths took place.

The attacks of this latter tribe became more numerous and irresistible till 269 A.D., when they were defeated by Claudius at Naissus in Moesia.

Roman
Legions
withdrawn,
274 A.D.

This checked their advance in Moesia, but they continued to overrun Dacia, till Aurelian, despairing of holding the province against them, withdrew his legions across the Danube (274 A.D.). Many of the colonists followed, and formed a new Daco-Roman colony in Moesia under the title of Dacia Aureliana.

The province of Dacia now found itself abandoned to successive inroads of barbarian invaders who flooded the country from the end of the tenth to the beginning of the thirteenth century. Goths, Huns, Gepidae,

Avars, in turn occupied or passed through the country as they pressed steadily westward.

Under the Goths—who were less savage than many of the succeeding tribes—the Daco-Roman colonists, who had remained north of the Danube, were able to carry on trade and agriculture. Their numbers were reinforced in 330 A.D. through the temporary re-occupation of Dacia by the Emperor Constantine.

Many of the exiles from Dacia Aureliana returned in the wake of the Roman armies and settled again in their old homes, and although Constantine was not able to hold the province, the Daco-Romans continued to live peacefully under Gothic rule. Their return was followed by the introduction of Christianity among the Goths, who had been pagans hitherto, although there must certainly have been many Christians amongst the original Daco-Roman inhabitants of the province.¹

Dacia was thus completely Christianised before the invasion of the Huns in 375 A.D.

At the Council of Chalcedon, in 451 A.D., Dacia was assigned to the jurisdiction of Constantinople.²

To the Goths succeeded the wild and savage Huns, who were followed by the Gepidae (c. 450) and the Avars (c. 560).

The latter powerful tribe held the province till 626 A.D., when they sustained a crushing defeat at the hands of the Emperor Heraclius, from which their

¹ Schaguna, chap. i. pp. 1-7.

² Cp. Can. 28; Schag., p. 7; E. v. Radič, p. 46.

power never really recovered. They gradually disappeared, and from the beginning of the ninth to the end of the eleventh century Dacia came largely under Bulgarian influence.

Bulgarian
influence,
810-1018
A.D.

The first Bulgarian kingdom, which lasted from the accession of the Bulgarian chieftain Krum, in 810 A.D., to the death of the Czar Simeon, in 1018, extended its authority not only over the Daco-Romans south of the Danube, in Dacia Aureliana, but also over their compatriots north of the river.

During this period the Hungarians made their first appearance, settling originally in the eastern parts of the province, and in what is now Bessarabia. Being driven out by Czar Simeon of Bulgaria, they moved westward into Hungary, where they finally settled and consolidated their power, so that by the end of the eleventh century they had become powerful enough to annex the north-eastern part of Dacia, which we now know as Transylvania. This province thus came to form part of the Hungarian kingdom.

Hungarians,
839 A.D.

Annex
Transyl-
vania, c.
1095.

Kumani.

From about 900-1227 A.D., Dacia was overrun, first by the Pechenegs and then by the Kumani, which latter tribe gave to the province the name of Kumania. The growing power of the Hungarians, however, under the house of Arpad (1078-1301) gradually dominated these tribes, and the Kumani disappear as a separate factor from history, after their conversion, in A.D. 1227.

Mongols,
c. 1240
A.D.

The last barbarian invasion to which Dacia, in common with Hungary, was subjected, was that of the Mongols in 1240 A.D., which caused widespread desola-

tion everywhere. They were driven out, after desperate fighting, under King Bela IV. of Hungary.¹

One more foreign element—the Teutonic—may perhaps be fitly mentioned here. In the twelfth century King Geisa II. of Hungary invited colonists from Flanders and the Low Countries to assist him in cultivating the waste part of his dominions and in resisting the attacks of the barbarian tribes.

His invitation met with an enthusiastic response, and amongst the Saxon colonies thus founded was the city of Hermannstadt. Andrew II. (1205-1233) continued this policy and summoned the Knights of S. John and other military orders to defend his kingdom against the Pechenegs and the Kumani. Quarrels subsequently arose between the knights and King Andrew, and the former were driven out of the country; but the colonists remained, and were the recipients of special favours from the Hungarian king. The Golden Bull, issued by Andrew II. in 1224, assigns important privileges to these Saxon colonists, recognising them as a separate nationality, with the Count of Hermannstadt at their head. They were allowed to occupy the land from the Broos to the Draas, to appoint their own magistrates and clergy, to be free from all taxes, and to have a common seal bearing the inscription ‘*Sigillum provinciae Cibiuiensis* [province of Hermannstadt] *ad retinendam coronam.*’ In return they were to pay an annual tribute of 500 silver marks and to supply a levy of 500 men for home or 100 for foreign service.

Saxon
colonists,
c. 1205.

The Golden
Bull, 1224.

¹ Milaš.

In 1291 Andrew III., the last king of the house of Arpad, summoned an assembly, which the Saxons attended under the leadership of their own national Count of Hermannstadt.

This assembly was also attended by the Szeklers and the Hungarians, thus including the three nationalities which for many centuries were to be regarded as composing the Hungarian kingdom.¹

¹ Schwicker, pp. 9-10.

CHAPTER II

THE ROUMANIAN CHURCH IN TRANSYLVANIA BEFORE THE UNION

It will be seen from what has been said in the previous chapter that the present Roumanian population of Transylvania may be traced to three principal sources.

Firstly, we have the original Daco-Roman colonists, who remained in Dacia after the withdrawal of the Roman legions in 274 A.D.; secondly, the colonists who followed Constantine from Moesia to Dacia in 330 A.D.; and thirdly, the colonists who, in the twelfth century, began to cross over the Carpathian mountains and to settle in Transylvania and the low-lying plains of Hungary.

Of these elements, the first two had been driven by successive barbarian invasions into the mountains, where they maintained themselves, their language, and their customs, till the advent of more peaceful times under the early Hungarian kings of the house of Arpad permitted them to descend from their mountain retreats and re-occupy the plains.

During their sojourn of many centuries in the mountains, the Roumanians became mixed with the remnants of many other nationalities, which succes-

sively took refuge there when a fiercer or stronger tribe drove them from the plains. Chief amongst such tribes were the Slavs; and one result of this intermingling may be seen in the number of Slav words which the Roumanian language contains.

We may then date the re-appearance of the Roumanians or Wallachians—as they are now frequently called—in Transylvania and Hungary from about the eleventh or twelfth centuries, though they are indeed mentioned as early as the ninth century by the Russian chronicler Nestor, who speaks of them as the Valachi.

Their conversion is nowhere recorded, so that we must assume that they had succeeded in preserving their Christian faith during these long centuries of seclusion in their mountain homes. They reappear as a Christian people, professing an Eastern form of Christianity, with their own bishops and priests.

This will be the more natural when we remember that Dacia owed most of its Christianity to those colonists who came over from Moesia in the wake of Constantine in 330 A.D., and that after the division of the Roman Empire Dacia fell to the Eastern portion, and was assigned ecclesiastically to the jurisdiction of Constantinople by the Council of Chalcedon.

The Roumanians continued to recognise the jurisdiction of Constantinople, which was exercised through the archbishopric of Ugro-Wallachia.¹ The archi-

¹ The Archbishop of Wallachia had his see first at Tergovist, and later on at Bucharest. His jurisdiction extended beyond Wallachia, and included the Roumanian bishoprics in Transylvania and Hungary. Hence the title of his province was Ugro-Wallachia.

episcopal see of Transylvania itself was placed at Weissenburg,¹ the ancient Roman Apulum.

It will be necessary here to turn aside for a moment and glance at the conversion of Hungary, where the adoption of Christianity in its western form was fraught with weighty consequences for the struggling Roumanian Church.

In the year 948 A.D., two Hungarian princes from Transylvania, named Bolusudes and Gyula or Gylas, were baptized at Constantinople, the Emperor Constantine VIII. standing godfather to them. On their return home Bolusudes reverted to paganism, and persecuted his Christian subjects, but Gyula, who succeeded him in the government of the province, remained loyal to Christianity. He brought with him from Constantinople a monk named Hierotheus, whom the Patriarch Theophylact had consecrated to be bishop of the Roumanian church in Transylvania. Some converts were made to Christianity, but as a whole Gyula's baptism was not followed up by any decisive missionary effort on the part of the Eastern Church, and Hungary remained pagan, till missionaries from the West began to enter the country about 970 A.D. The severe defeat which the Emperor Otho III. had inflicted on the Hungarians in 955 A.D. had humbled

¹ Apulum was destroyed by the barbarian invasion. On its ruins rose the town of Weissenburg (Alba Julia), where Ladislaus I. of Hungary (1078-1095) founded a bishopric. When Transylvania passed under the dominion of Austria, Charles VI. (1711-1740) fortified Weissenburg and renamed it Karlsburg, which name it continues to bear. The Roumanian archbishopric was placed at Weissenburg till the Union. When revived it was translated to Hermannstadt.

their power and checked their marauding raids, thus rendering it possible for Christian bishops and priests to cross over from Germany and begin preaching the Gospel amongst them.

Their missionary labours were facilitated by the presence in Hungary of many Christian captives, who welcomed the missionaries gladly, so that, in 974 A.D., Bishop Pilgrim of Passau was able to send an encouraging report to Pope Benedict on the success of the Christian missions.

In 993 A.D., Bishop Adalbert of Prague arrived in Hungary, but he seems to have been discouraged by the prevalence of paganism and of pagan practices even amongst professing Christians.

The ruler of Hungary at that time was Duke Geisa (972-997), who is believed to have been baptized at Constantinople, and had married a daughter of the elder Gyula. She, like her father, was a Christian belonging to the Eastern Church. But the profession of Christianity seems to have made but little difference to Geisa's character, and he was completely tolerant of paganism in his dominions.

Adalbert, however, baptized Geisa's son, to whom he gave the name of Stephen, and who was brought up under strict Christian influences and married a Bavarian princess named Gisella.

Stephen—the first king of the house of Arpad—succeeded his father Geisa in 997 A.D., and his first care was to promote Christianity throughout his dominions, either by force or persuasion, as occasion demanded. He was a devoted son of the Roman Church, and

received the special blessing of the Pope, Sylvester II., upon his efforts, together with the title of 'Apostolic King' and the celebrated crown, which has been used ever since for the coronation of the kings of Hungary. Stephen's forcible method of promoting Christianity roused bitter opposition amongst his pagan subjects, particularly in the eastern parts of his dominions, where paganism was still powerful. A revolt broke out in Transylvania in 1003 A.D., which was subdued by Stephen, who deprived Gyula the younger, his brother-in-law, of his dominions in Siebenburgen.

Gradually then—though resisted at times by the pagan nobles, who could always command a following—Christianity became the religion of Hungary, and by the time that the line of Arpad kings had become extinct with the death of Andrew III. in 1301 A.D., Hungary was a Christianised country, and moreover thoroughly loyal to the Roman See.

In the meanwhile the Roumanians who had left their mountain homes had begun to form settlements round Fogaras, in the banat of Zewrin and in the voivodeship of Marmaros.

They did not at first find themselves harshly treated by the Hungarians. They were not, it is true, recognised as a distinct nationality, like the Hungarians and the Saxon colonists who had been invited into the country by King Geisa I. (1141-1161), and to whom Andrew II. (1205-1235) had granted special privileges in the Golden Bull, but they were allowed to settle where they chose and to preserve their own religion, customs, and laws. Most of them became serfs to the

Hungarian and Saxon nobility, with the exception of the heads of their communities, who were called Kneazen or Knezes, and were regarded as forming a kind of traditional nobility amongst the Roumanians.

But by degrees, as the Roumanians increased in numbers, the conditions of their serfdom became harder, and we notice a growing hostility towards their religion on the part of the Roman Catholic Church and clergy. The final separation of the Eastern and Western Churches in the eleventh century naturally increased this hostility, since the Roumanian bishops, after some wavering, had definitely ranged themselves on the side of Constantinople. Besides the Metropolitan at Karlsburg, who received consecration from the Archbishop of Urgo-Wallachia, it appears that the Roumanians had originally bishops at Fogaras, Szilvas, Vad, Halmegy, Grosswardein, and in the county of Marmaros.

The Popes lost no opportunity to remind the Hungarian kings of their duties in reclaiming these false Christians, to whom the epithet 'schismatics' begins to be applied. Thus, in 1234 A.D., Pope Gregory IX. writes as follows to King Bela IV. of Hungary with respect to the Roumanian Christians:—

'In the diocese of Cumania there are some people called Roumanians, who, although they pass for Christians, do many things which are contrary to the Christian name. For they despise the Roman churches, and will not receive the sacraments from the Latin bishops of the Cumanians, but from false Greek bishops, and many of the faithful Magyars, Germans, and others, who live in the kingdom of Hungary, and associate with these Roumanians, go over to them and

receive the sacraments in the same way, to the great hurt of the faithful and the injury of the Christian faith. . . . In order that no soul may be injured by this difference in religion, and to avoid the danger of the Roumanians, for want of the sacraments, having recourse to the schismatical bishops, we command our bishop by letter to appoint a vicar . . . and since you as a Catholic prince have sworn to bring to obedience all in your territories who do not belong to the Roman Church, and have promised by word of mouth that the aforesaid Roumanians should accept the bishop which the Church gives them, we command you—promising you absolution of your sins—not to permit any such schismatics in your kingdom.'

Nevertheless the Roumanians continued steadfast in their adherence to their own form of Christianity and in their allegiance to Constantinople.

But the conditions of their serfdom became yearly more onerous. Not only were the heads of the Roumanian communities—the Knezes—now compelled to servitude, but the clergy were also completely under the control of the Magyar or Saxon landowner on whose estate their fathers had been born. Poverty obliged them to follow the humble callings of shepherd or farm labourer in common with their people, nor could they be transferred to another parish unless their original overlord voluntarily resigned his claims over them and allowed them to settle elsewhere. These and other oppressions led to a revolt of the Roumanian peasantry in 1437, which was suppressed with some severity, and the three leading races of Hungary—the Magyars, Saxons, and Szeklers—concluded an agreement at Kapolna on September 18, 1437, in which they

bound themselves to resist Roumanian pretensions and to maintain the existing recognition of their own three nationalities alone. The Roumanians thus remained in their condition of serfdom; but it must be conceded that in general the Hungarian kings did their best to secure justice and equitable treatment for all their subjects, and seldom turned a deaf ear to the petitions which the Roumanian clergy and people presented to them from time to time. One of the principal grievances of the Roumanians lay in the exaction of tithes on the part of the Roman Catholic clergy. Thus, in 1479, we find the Roumanian Archbishop Joannicius petitioning Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, to remit these imposts, which lay heavily on the impoverished Roumanians. The king assented to the archbishop's petition, and issued two decrees in 1479 and 1485 respectively, in which he ordered that no tithes should be taken from the 'schismatics.' His successor, Ladislaus, confirmed this immunity by his decree of 1495, which forbade the taking of tithes from 'Serbs, Russians, Roumanians, and other schismatics living on Christian estates.' Again, in 1491, we find this same King Ladislaus occupying himself with the ecclesiastical affairs of the Roumanians at their own request. Two wealthy Roumanians, named Balitza Voda and Drag Mester, had founded a monastery dedicated to St. Michael in the Roumanian diocese of Munkacs. Having endowed it with villages and lands sufficient for its support, they repaired to Constantinople, where they begged the Patriarch Antonius to constitute it a Stauropegeion, thus exempting it from the juris-

diction of the Bishop of Munkacs. The Patriarch approved the request, and appointed a monk named Pachomius to be the first abbot of the new monastery, while he granted to the monks the right of electing their own abbot in future.

But Pachomius's successor, Ilarius, deemed it prudent to secure the independence of his monastery from episcopal control by obtaining a royal confirmation of the privileges which had been granted by the Patriarch. For this purpose he appealed to King Ladislaus, who issued a decree confirming the privileges in 1495. The Bishop of Munkacs, however, resented this interference with his authority, and endeavoured to appropriate the revenues of the monastery. Ilarius again appealed to Ladislaus, who confirmed his original decree and maintained the independence of the monastery against the bishop.

Ladislaus was succeeded in 1516 by his young son, Louis II., in whose reign the greatest misfortunes overwhelmed Hungary.

At the battle of Mohacs in 1516, the Hungarian army was utterly routed by the Turks under Solyman the Magnificent. Louis lost his life, and Buda was given over to pillage, while the country around, with its towns, villages, and churches was laid waste in all directions. Solyman at length returned to Constantinople, laden with spoils from Hungary, while a large part of the land remained till 1686 in Turkish hands. To add to these misfortunes, the Hungarian nobles could not agree on the best method of saving their country from further Turkish invasion. One party

desired to offer the crown to Ferdinand of Austria, brother of the Emperor Charles v., and in this they were warmly supported by the Saxons. The opposite party preferred a national dynasty, and elected John Zapolya, the Voivode of Transylvania, as King of Hungary. The result was a desolating civil war, which lasted till 1538, when Ferdinand agreed to cede Transylvania and part of Hungary, as far as the river Theiss, to John for his lifetime. Thus a temporary truce was established till John's death in 1541, when his estates should by this agreement have passed to Ferdinand and the house of Hapsburg. The national party, however, proclaimed his little son, John Sigismund Zapolya, as king, and bought the support of the Turks by payment of a yearly tribute. Queen Isabella, Sigismund's mother, acted as regent, but an unfortunate quarrel with her leading minister, George Martinuzzi, Bishop of Grosswardein, led the latter to betray Transylvania to Ferdinand. The savage conduct of Ferdinand's troops, however, alienated even his own supporters from him, and, urged on by the Turks, the national party succeeded in regaining their independence, and replacing Sigismund Zapolya on the throne, which he held till his death in 1571.

In his place another Hungarian magnate, Stephen Bathori, was elected; but in 1575 he was presented with the crown of Poland, whereupon he ceded the real government of Transylvania to his brother, Christopher Bathori, while retaining a merely nominal overlordship for himself. His successor was Sigismund Bathori, who held the principality till 1605.

The Roumanian Church in Transylvania suffered much from the troubles, both political and religious, which passed over Hungary. Five archbishops occupied the Roumanian see of Weissenburg during this period: Barlaam I., 1537; Paul Thordasi, 1569; Genadiu I., 1580, Joan de Prislop, 1595-1599; and Theoctist, 1605-1609.¹ The spread of the Reformation caused great strife and confusion in Transylvania as elsewhere. Merchants who attended the fairs at Leipsic and other German towns brought back with them to Hermannstadt an account of Luther's teaching; and the new doctrines spread rapidly, especially amongst the Saxons in Transylvania. Lutheranism became the prevailing form of Protestantism with the Saxons, while Calvinism, and, later on, Unitarianism, won an immense number of adherents amongst the Hungarians and Szeklers. John Zapolya, with many other Hungarian magnates, whose policy, as well as their religious views, inclined them to the defence of the ancient religion, did their best to stem the tide; but their efforts were for the time unavailing. After John's death, his little son Sigismund was brought up under strict Unitarian influences, and became in after life a strict supporter of this creed.

Meanwhile, the Roumanians were striving to remain faithful to their religion, but they suffered no little from the attacks of both parties, who were equally anxious, as opportunity offered, to compel them to

¹ Schaguna mentions Stephen I. c. 1557. His name does not appear in Hurzumaki's list, but it is possible that one has dropped out between 1537 and 1569, as the interval is unusually long.

accept either Protestantism or Roman Catholicism. The Protestant propaganda was chiefly carried on by preaching and popular Bible teaching, while the Roman Church aimed more at simply winning over the higher Roumanian clergy, trusting that their flocks would follow them. Their own Eastern Christianity was only tolerated on sufferance, and they were constantly subjected to hardship and oppression in the exercise of their religion. It is therefore all the more pleasing to find the Queen Regent, Isabella, in 1557, confirming the appointment of a Bishop Christopher to the Roumanian monastery of Feldiod.

John Sigismund Zapolya died on March 14, 1571, and, as we have seen above, Stephen Bathori was elected as his successor.

Stephen was a Protestant prince, and during his reign the Diet of Transylvania passed some laws which dealt rather severely with the Roumanian Church. The following articles are contained in *Approb. Constit. Regni Transilv.*, 1575 A.D., Pars. I. Tit. viii.

Art. I.

Art. I. deals first with the appointment of Roumanian bishops. They are to be elected by the Roumanian clergy; but their election must be entirely subject to the approval of the prince, who may confirm or reject it as he pleases.

Secondly, the article states that all Roumanian bishops and arch-priests when making visitations of their dioceses or districts are to confine themselves entirely to their spiritual duties. They are not to

engage in any secular undertakings, to mingle in politics, or to impose on offenders any temporal punishments or fines.

Art. II.

This article provides that any Roumanian clergy coming from abroad to settle in Transylvania are to present themselves first to the arch-priest of the district. The arch-priest or bishop must send them to be further examined by the civil authorities of the county or municipality, and the latter are to furnish the prince with a report concerning them as circumstances may demand.

Art. III.

This article deals with the obligations of the Roumanian clergy to their Hungarian or Saxon over-lords.

It will be remembered that even the clergy stood in the position of serfs, and were bound to remain on the landholders' estates. They are ordered in this article to pay a yearly tax proportionate to their incomes; but they are allowed to appeal to the civil authorities if their over-lords make excessive demands upon them. The claims which the overlord may make on the sons of the clergy are also regulated by this article.

Art. IV.

Art. IV. treats of Roumanian priests who commit irregularities in celebrating marriages between persons of different religions, or between those who have been improperly betrothed, or those whose marriage would be for any reason illegal.

If the arch-priest does not punish such a priest within five days of receiving an admonition from the civil authorities to do so, he is to be deprived of his rank.

The priest is to be fined two hundred florins, and may also be deprived by the bishop if the civil authorities desire it.

In addition to these articles we also find in *Approb. Constit. Trans.*, Tit. ix. Art. i., that work is to be required as usual of the Roumanians on their festivals. From the wording of the article it is evident that they had been in the habit of petitioning their over-lords for holidays on such days. In future they are not to presume to do so.

Tit. III. Art. ii. permits tithes to be taken from the Roumanians on wine, corn, vegetables, sheep, pigs, and bees.

Considering the poverty of the Roumanian serfs, it will be readily understood that such taxation must have pressed very heavily upon them, and kept them in a state of chronic indigence.¹

Stephen's successor in the principality, Sigismund Bathori, conceded some trifling alleviations in the lot of the Roumanian clergy at the request of the Metropolitan, Joan de Prislop, in 1595. Their general condition remained unchanged, however, until the election of Gabriel Bathori to the throne of Transylvania.

Although in most respects a very bad prince, Gabriel Bathori showed pity and consideration towards the Roumanian people and their priesthood. In 1609 he

¹ Schag., pp. 35-8.

granted permission to the latter—with the sanction of their bishop—to settle in any place they pleased with their families, and without requiring to obtain the consent of their over-lords. He also relieved them from the performance of their obligations to the territorial nobility, and from the payment of all dues except the customary yearly tax.¹

Gabriel Bathori was succeeded by Gabriel Bethlen, an earnest-minded man, who did much for the improvement of his country. The Roumanian clergy in the district of Fogaras, finding him thus well disposed towards them, petitioned him, in 1624, for a remission of tithes, such as they had formerly enjoyed under Ladislaus II. and Matthias Corvinus. Gabriel granted their petition so far as to remit all tithes on cattle and land produce.²

Some further privileges were granted to the Roumanian clergy and people by Gabriel's successor, George Rakoczy I., in 1638, at the request of their Metropolitan, Genadiu II.

But though the elective princes of Transylvania were willing to make these concessions towards a material improvement in the status of the Roumanian clergy, they spared no efforts at the same time to win over the Roumanian Church to Protestantism. With this object in view, catechisms and other doctrinal statements were issued from time to time to the Roumanian archbishops and clergy with imperative orders to use them only in the instruction of their flocks. It was

¹ *Lit. Priv. Gab. Bet.*, 1609; Hurz., p. 4.

² *Lit. Priv. Gab. Bet.*, 1624; Hurz., p. 5.

hoped in this way to leaven the Roumanian Church with Protestant teaching through the medium of its own pastors.

The results for the most part were very unsuccessful.

Some, indeed, of the Roumanian bishops and clergy were strongly inclined towards Protestantism, though probably more from the material benefits which its adoption was likely to bring them than from any real love or sympathy with its doctrines. But others held firmly to their traditional faith, and refused to have anything to do with the Protestant catechisms, and encouraged their people to remain steadfast.

In 1638, during the reign of Prince George Rakoczy I., Elias Joresti, a monk from Wallachia, was appointed Archbishop of Weissenburg (Karlsburg). He was a man of simple, austere life, and unswerving loyalty to the orthodox faith, who set himself to combat the spread of Protestant doctrines in the Roumanian Church, and proscribed the use of any books which inculcated them. This soon brought him sharply into conflict with George Rakoczy. Unfortunately, in the visitation which he had made of the diocese under his charge, he had found many abuses and irregularities which it was necessary to check, as well as much covert Calvinism among the clergy.

Many of the latter, who had secretly embraced Calvinistic doctrines without openly apostatising from the Roumanian Church, were exempted by a special decree of Prince Rakoczy from their obedience to the Archbishop of Weissenburg, except so far as the Protestant Superintendent, Stephen Gelei, should allow them to

render it. Joresti's uncompromising attitude in these matters had made him many enemies amongst the more worldly bishops and clergy, who were only too ready to assist Gelei in getting rid of so unpopular an archbishop. At a Synod, held in 1643, Elias was condemned, deprived of his see, and handed over to the secular authorities for further punishment. In his place the Synod elected, at Rakoczy's wish, a priest named Stephen Simonowicz, who showed himself far more pliant in his attitude towards the Protestant Church.

With the royal patent confirming his appointment as Archbishop of Weissenburg, Rakoczy transmitted to Stephen, on October 10, 1643, a long 'instruction,' dealing minutely with matters of doctrine and practice. From this remarkable document we may see that the new archbishop was expected to conform more closely to the standard of a Protestant superintendent than to that of an archbishop of the Orthodox Church.

Among its most noteworthy provisions are the following:—

(1) Stephen is to make use exclusively of the reformed catechism supplied to him by the Protestant Church, and is to insist that his bishops and clergy use it too in all teaching given by them to the Roumanian people.

(2) Baptism is to be administered in the name of the Holy Trinity with water only, according to Christ's institution. (Is this aimed at trine immersion, or at the anointing with chrism which immediately follows baptism in the Eastern Church?)

(3) Holy Communion is to be administered in both kinds (this must mean separately, since the Eastern Church does not allow Communion in one kind), and only to adults of good moral life.

(4) Crosses and pictures in churches are not to be accorded religious veneration, but only to be used as reminders of our Lord's life and death.

(5) Burials are to be conducted according to the Calvinist rite.

(6) Nobody, either priest or layman, is to be hindered or dissuaded from joining the Reformed Church. They are to be treated with the same affection as the faithful adherents of the orthodox faith.

(7) A synod is to be held yearly, which all the Roumanian clergy are to attend, but the decision of any difficult points of dogma is to be submitted to the General Superintendent of the Protestant Church.

(8) The superintendent is to have a vote in the election or deposition of a proto-pope just as much as the bishop, the members of his consistory court, and the clergy of the district concerned.

(9) All decisions of the bishop's consistory court in disputes between the clergy must be referred finally to the Protestant superintendent.

(10) A Roumanian priest may not marry or bury a Hungarian or baptize their children. Only in the case of a Roumanian marrying a Hungarian woman may the Roumanian priest perform the ceremony.

It is difficult to see how Stephen reconciled the acceptance of such regulations with his position as

archbishop. However he professed at least an outward compliance, and allowed the Protestant Confession to be circulated and taught amongst his flock, though its appearance in the Danubian provinces was the signal for an outburst of horror and indignation.

The catechism was repudiated by a Synod of Roumanian bishops, held under the presidency of the Metropolitan of Moldavia, Barlaam, who undertook to refute it in a pastoral letter which he published in 1645. This energetic action on the part of the Roumanian bishops was of great value in checking the spread of Protestantism amongst their co-religionists in Transylvania. Stephen showed a scarcely less culpable weakness and negligence to the true interests of his church, when he consented, in 1651, to consecrate a monk named Peter Parthenius to the see of Munkacs, despite his well-known tendencies towards Roman Catholicism. But the Metropolitanate of Stephen was not without some cheering features. The translation of the Psalms into Roumanian was accomplished in 1651, followed later on by the whole of the New Testament.

Indeed the 'instruction' sent by Rakoczy I. to Stephen at his consecration insisted strongly on the exclusive use of the vernacular in the services of the Roumanian Church as well as in Bible reading and preaching. It is to be feared, however, that Rakoczy's object was not so much the spiritual advancement of the Roumanian Church as its detachment from its sister churches in Greece and beyond the Danube, with a view to propagating Protestant teaching amongst its members.

That Rakoczy bore no love to the Roumanian Church in itself may be gathered from the fact that when the Roumanians from a village named Gross Cserged petitioned for leave to build themselves a church, he only granted it on condition that the tithes should be paid to the Saxon pastor of the parish.

Stephen was succeeded in 1651 by Daniel, who only held the see of Weissenburg till 1656, when he abdicated and fled to Wallachia. During his Metropolitanate, George Rakoczy II., who had succeeded his father on the throne of Transylvania, had endeavoured to enforce Protestantism on the Roumanians in the county of Marmarosch. To Daniel, however, succeeded one of the strongest Metropolitans who ever occupied the see of Weissenburg, namely Sabbas Brankovich, whose memory is justly venerated by all Roumanian churchmen.

He held the archbishopric from 1656-1680, during all of which time he spared no efforts to improve the condition of his clergy and people. He obtained from Prince Achatius Barcsai in 1659, and from Prince Michael Apafi in 1663 and 1673, decrees freeing the Roumanian clergy from the payment of the heavy tithes and dues which had reduced them to such great poverty, and by compelling them to engage in manual labour for their own support had prevented them from devoting themselves to the duties of their ministry.

These exemptions were as usual bitterly resented by the Magyars and Saxons, who continued when possible to enforce the payment of tithes as before. But Sabbas and his brother George Brankovich had made them-

selves very useful to Apafi in conducting negotiations with the Princes of Moldavia and Wallachia. They were able, consequently, to prevail on Apafi to enforce his decrees as well as to induce the Danubian princes to use their good offices in behalf of their co-religionists in Transylvania. In the meantime the Turks had again been over-running the principality, and had burnt the Roumanian cathedral and the bishop's residence at Weissenburg.

Being unable to raise money to rebuild his cathedral amongst the poverty-stricken Roumanians of Transylvania, Sabbas obtained leave from Apafi, in 1668, to make a journey into Russia for the purpose of collecting funds for this object.

On his return he found that his enemy, George Tophaeus, the Superintendent of the Calvinist Church, had been endeavouring to undermine his authority during his absence by winning over some of the Roumanian proto-popes to the Protestant faith. He had also obtained a decree from Apafi which should prevent Sabbas from performing ordinations, from exercising due jurisdiction over his clergy, and should place him in a position of complete subordination to the Protestant Church.

By an energetic appeal to Apafi in 1675, Sabbas succeeded in regaining his rights and maintaining the privileges of his church for a while, but the hostility of the Protestant party continued, being really fostered by the elective princes, whose sympathies naturally lay with their own religion and with the efforts made to propagate it.

Sabbas, moreover, by his wealth as well as by his loyalty to the orthodox faith, had made himself unpopular amongst the disaffected Roumanian clergy, who saw in subserviency to Tophaeus and the Protestant Church a means of improving their material position.

In 1677, at the instigation of Tophaeus, two laymen came forward with a false accusation of immoral conduct against their archbishop. He was arraigned before a diocesan Synod in 1680, which was composed of ninety-eight clerical and lay members, with Tophaeus as his principal accuser, was declared guilty and thrown into prison with his brother George, while all his property—the real object of attack—was confiscated. George Brankovich succeeded in escaping from prison, and fled to Wallachia, where he besought the intervention of Prince Serban Cantacuzene on behalf of his unfortunate brother. The prince remonstrated vigorously with Apafi I., who, finding himself threatened by internal foes, and fearing lest Serban should make common cause with them, consented to release Sabbas and restore to him his church and property. The archbishop, however, broken down by ill-health, old age, and the harsh treatment to which he had been subjected while in prison, with a view to inducing him to accept Protestantism, died soon after his release.¹

His successor, Joseph Budai, received consecration from Theodosius, Metropolitan of Wallachia, at Bucharest, in 1680, but he seceded very shortly after to

¹ Schag., pp. 41-45; Hurz., pp. 16-17.

Protestantism, and signed the Helvetic Confession.¹ In 1687 Barlaam II. was elected to the vacant see, which he had only held a year, when the Transylvanians, weary of their national princes and the Turkish suzerainty, offered the principality to Leopold I. of Austria at the Diet of Fogaras in 1668.

Leopold had already driven out Apafi I. and his Turkish supporters from Transylvania in 1686, and Austrian troops had occupied Klausenburg, Hermannstadt, and Deva. The principality thus passed under the house of Austria, whose rule it has acknowledged ever since.

¹ Hurz., p. 9.

CHAPTER III

THE UNION

THE acceptance of Austrian rule, which we recorded in the last chapter, was destined to have far-reaching results for the Orthodox Church in Transylvania and Hungary.

Under the elective princes every effort had been made to win or coerce the Roumanians to adopt Protestantism; under the Austrian dynasty the Roman Catholic Church regained much of its former ascendancy in Hungary, and was not slow in endeavouring to bring the orthodox Roumanians within its fold. Many circumstances contributed towards the success of the movement, but its chief impetus must be sought in the wretched conditions of life under which the Roumanians laboured.

As we have seen above, the Roumanians were not reckoned amongst the recognised nationalities of Hungary, nor was the Greek faith accorded a recognised position on a level with Roman Catholicism, Calvinism, Lutheranism, and Unitarianism.

Socially the Roumanians were for the most part serfs, including even the clergy, and as such they were subject to much oppression at the hands of the Hun-

garian and Saxon nobility. The frequent efforts of the Roumanian clergy to escape the payment of tithes, though apparently successful, were often attended by no practical result, as the nobility were powerful enough to maintain the old state of things, despite royal edicts to the contrary. Both clergy and laity were poor and ignorant, since it was very seldom that they could afford the means of education, and their children were not received in the Roman Catholic or Protestant schools. It can easily be understood then what great temptations from a material point of view there must have been to the Roumanians to adopt one of the received religions. Such a step would at once invest them with all the liberties and privileges enjoyed by that body. But in the case of Protestantism there were two powerful counteracting forces.

The first of these was purely religious, and lay in the fundamental difference between Protestantism and the Greek Church, which made the acceptance of the former by a member of the latter essentially distasteful. The second was racial, and as such appealed to one of the most permanent characteristics of life in south-eastern Europe. Acceptance of the Protestant or Unitarian faith meant for a Roumanian the practical surrender of his nationality, as with his new religion he would almost certainly enrol himself in a Magyar or Saxon community. This indeed did happen somewhat frequently amongst Roumanians of the upper class, both clerical and lay. If for any good service a Roumanian was 'ennobled' by his prince, he found himself at once in an entirely different society, whose life he could only

share by becoming Magyarised or Saxonised as the case might be. Occasionally he might perhaps personally retain his race and religion, but his children, who would be educated in Magyar or German schools, would certainly lose their ancient faith and would no longer be registered as Roumanians. In this way it happened that just those Roumanians who might have helped to raise their church and nation fell away from it, while the poor Roumanian peasants and serfs clung to it loyally.

But the loss of those who should naturally have been its leaders became an increased source of weakness when the Roumanian Church found itself opposed by an active and carefully prepared propaganda. The Roman Catholic Church was able to pursue a method far more likely to win favour in the eyes of the Roumanians and especially of the Roumanian clergy. She proposed a 'Union' between the Roumanian and Roman Catholic churches, in which the former should retain its own language, customs, liturgy, and ceremonies, together with its married priesthood, while publicly acknowledging the four following indispensable points : (1) The supremacy of the Pope ; (2) the Procession of the Spirit from the Father and the Son ; (3) the Permissible use of unleavened bread ; (4) Purgatory.

On accepting this 'Union,' the Roumanian priests, from being in the position of mere serfs, burdened with heavy tithes, would at once be freed from the latter and would enjoy all the privileges of the Roman Catholic clergy, together with the right of educating their sons at Roman Catholic schools and seminaries.

The laity in a similar manner would obtain all the civil rights belonging to one of the 'recognised' religions and nationalities, and would be eligible for all posts in the public service from which they had hitherto been excluded. At the same time there would be no sacrifice of nationality, since the Roumanians of this Uniat church would be recognised as forming a distinct nationality, and would not be required to merge themselves in the Magyars. It can readily be understood what a tempting prospect now opened out before the oppressed and poverty-stricken Roumanians; and a national party was soon formed amongst them, headed by the leading clergy, who openly advocated union with the Roman Catholic Church. The Jesuits and Cardinal Kollonicz, Archbishop of Gran and Primate of Hungary, were unwearying in their efforts to promote the union, while they received the warmest encouragement from the Emperor and the Court at Vienna.

The Cardinal had already succeeded in 1692 in bringing over two hundred Roumanian parishes in the diocese of Munkacs to the Union. Nevertheless the project encountered much opposition, not only amongst the Roumanians who desired to remain true to their ancestral faith, but also from the Protestant party, which had no desire to see the Roumanians incorporated in the Roman Catholic Church, and thus strengthening its growing influence in Transylvania.

Such was the condition of affairs on the death of the Metropolitan Barlaam, who had succeeded to the Archbishopric of Karlsburg in 1687, but had died within a few years of his accession to the see. He was a loyal

Roumanian and desirous of promoting the true interests of his church, but was unable to do much towards stemming the current which had now set in in favour of the proposed 'Union.' He was succeeded in 1692 by a monk named Theophilus, whose father, Simon Szeremi, had been parish priest of a village in Transylvania. Theophilus had incurred the displeasure of Prince Brankovich of Wallachia by serious misdemeanours, both in his private life and in his administration of the Roumanian Church. Eventually the prince threatened to demand his deposition unless he showed real signs of amendment, while at the same time he was menaced with further exposure by the Protestant nobles.¹

Thus pressed on all sides, Theophilus threw himself into the arms of Rome, and professed his willingness to further the cause of the Union. The Roman Catholic authorities, and in particular the Jesuits, seized eagerly upon the opportunity thus presented, and welcomed Theophilus warmly, adding to persuasive arguments promises of further ecclesiastical promotion.

Theophilus at once set himself to win over the Roumanian clergy to his views, and even circulated amongst them a pamphlet which represented the Roumanians as having belonged originally to the Roman Catholic Church, so that the proposed Union would be nothing more than a return to their own spiritual mother.

As we have said above, the Roman claims were reduced to four, of which by far the most, and indeed

¹ Hurz., p. 29.

the only, practically important one was the recognition of the Papal supremacy.

In order, however, to avoid the appearance of forcing Roman Catholicism upon the Roumanians, and also to satisfy the claims of the other religions, a royal commission was appointed, consisting of four delegates, one from each of the 'received' religions, who were commissioned to give every Roumanian pope his choice either to accept one of the received religions or to abide in the Greek faith. But this apparent impartiality was counteracted by secret orders from the Emperor, to the effect that in reality the Roumanians were to be urged to accept Roman Catholicism, and that no encouragement was to be given to the other religions. The Archbishop Theophilus seconded the Emperor's efforts eagerly, and persecuted any of his clergy who desired to avail themselves of this opportunity to embrace Protestantism. In consequence of the distress and confusion thus produced amongst the orthodox Roumanians, he summoned a Synod of his clergy at Karlsburg in 1697, to discuss the question of the proposed Union.

The Synod lasted from the beginning of February to the 21st of March. At its first sitting Theophilus dwelt at length on the hardships which the Roumanians had endured at the hands of the national princes of Transylvania. He pointed out in particular that the doctrines of the church had been distorted by the circulation of Protestant manuals to the great injury of the faithful.

At the next sitting he went on to lay the question of the proposed union with Rome before the Synod,

which viewed the matter favourably, and proceeded to deliberate on the necessary terms. It was eventually agreed to accept the four points put forward by Rome, while claiming the following concessions for the Roumanian Church.

(1) The continued use of its own canon law, so far as it did not contradict the terms of Union; (2) equal rights for the Roumanian priesthood and laity with those enjoyed by members of the Roman Catholic Church, and equal facilities for education; (3) non-interference of the laity in the affairs of the clergy; and (4) due pecuniary provision for the maintenance of the Metropolitcal see. These terms were embodied in an act which was signed by Theophilus and twelve archdeacons, and was submitted to the Emperor and the Primate of Hungary for confirmation and approval.¹ The action of the Synod found warm support at the Court of Vienna and amongst the Roman Catholic clergy; but it was far otherwise with such of the Roumanian clergy and laity as resented the idea of deserting their religion and repudiated the action of their archbishop. They were supported in their resistance by the Protestants, and great confusion and bitterness prevailed, which was augmented by the death of Theophilus in July 1697.

The see of Karlsburg remained vacant for seven months, and was eventually filled in January 1698 by a monk named Athanasius, the son of a Roumanian parish priest.

To quiet the unrest which the Synod of Karlsburg

¹ Schag., pp. 63-66.

had called forth amongst the Roumanians, and to promote the cause of the Union, the Emperor Leopold I. issued two decrees in April 1698. These confirmed the result of the Synod, and emphasised the fact that all orthodox Roumanian priests who acknowledged the papal supremacy and the distinctive points of Roman Catholic dogma—although adhering to the Greek rite—should at once enjoy all the privileges and liberties of the Roman Catholic clergy. Those, on the other hand, who elected to adhere to the Greek Church would remain in their present position and pay the usual taxes.¹ These imperial edicts were followed in June by a solemn manifesto from the Primate of Hungary, Cardinal Kollonicz. In this manifesto, the Cardinal set forth still more strongly the temporal advantages in the way of privileges and legal protection which the Roumanians—and in particular the clergy—would obtain by joining the Union. Not only, he says, will such a step procure them eternal felicity in the life to come, but will also ensure them here the special favour and protection of the Emperor. They may always count on a favourable hearing in the ecclesiastical and civil courts, and will find in himself and the Emperor willing friends and protectors. While the orthodox Roumanians were thus being alternately encouraged and coerced to join the Union by influence from outside, circumstances within the Roumanian Church itself contributed towards the same result. Following the custom of his predecessors, the newly

¹ Hurz., pp. 30-31.

elected Metropolitan Athanasius had gone to Bucharest for his consecration in January 1698.

The Metropolitan of Wallachia at that time was one Theodosius, who perhaps had heard reports of the doubtful orthodoxy of Athanasius and of the threatened defection of the Roumanian Church in Transylvania. At any rate he did his best to bind Athanasius to the orthodox faith and to remind him of his solemn responsibilities as Metropolitan. But Athanasius was evidently a thoroughly untrustworthy man. Although he must have decided in his own mind to accept the Union on his return to Transylvania, yet he took the customary oath which was administered to all Archbishops of Karlsburg at their consecration by the Metropolitans of Wallachia. After the recitation of the Nicene Creed, the oath runs as follows:—

‘Further, I also acknowledge and accept the seven holy Councils which met to settle the principles of the Christian faith. I profess that I will heartily accept and observe all the canons and decrees of those holy Fathers who attended the Councils and all the principles and doctrines which were laid down by those holy Fathers at those times. I profess moreover that I will maintain the peace of the Church, and will never do anything contrary thereto so long as I live, but will in all things submit myself to the wholesome doctrine of my very reverend Lord and Prince of the Church in all Ugro-Wallachia, Lord Theodosius, and I do vow with all my mind that I will feed the spiritual flock committed to my charge in godly love and fear, according to the holy canons and decrees, and so far as in me lies will keep myself from all wrong and malicious wickedness; further, I profess that I will maintain intact and undisturbed all property which the see of Ugro-Wallachia possesses within my diocese. I, Athanasius,

by the grace of God called to the holy episcopate of the country of Siebenburgen, have signed here with my own hand.'¹

It so happened that the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Dositheus, was at Bucharest at this time, and he took the opportunity of addressing an instruction to Athanasius on the duties and responsibilities of his charge. In this instruction, which is of considerable length, Dositheus shows a very just appreciation of the needs of the Church and of the character which her Metropolitan should bear. He begins by emphasising the necessity for a close adherence to the decrees and canons of the seven Œcumenical Councils and of the ancient Fathers. At the same time he warns Athanasius and his flock to submit themselves duly to the civil powers, as being in accordance with 'the most clear warrant of Scripture.' He then proceeds to dwell on the importance of preaching, which is never to be omitted on Sundays and festivals, but which should also take place at other times. And this preaching, he observes, is to be given in the vulgar tongue; either Servian, Russian, or Roumanian, as the needs of the congregation require, while all exposition of the Holy Scriptures is to follow the lines laid down by the Fathers. But when he comes to dwell, a little later on (Art. 5), upon the celebration of the Liturgy and the offices of the Church, he directs distinctly that they are only to be performed in Greek or Slavonic, and not in the Roumanian tongue. Some writers see in this a

¹ Schag., pp. 72-73.

desire on the part of Dositheus to maintain the supremacy of the Greek Patriarchate over the Roumanian Church in Transylvania, and to prevent its acquiring complete independence with the growth of the national spirit.¹ But Schaguna considers that the injunction was only due to the fact that at this time there was no authorised translation of the Liturgy and service books into Roumanian.² This is the more likely because in the very next article Dositheus directs that the Gospel at the Liturgy is to be read in Slavonic or Roumanian, as necessity requires. We have seen that the New Testament was translated into Roumanian during the Metropolitanate of Simonowich. It is worth noticing in this connection that Dositheus speaks of a daily celebration of the Liturgy.

Proceeding with his instruction, Dositheus gives careful rules in Arts. 7-12 for the due and proper performance of the Sacraments, and lays special stress on Communion in both kinds when dealing with the subject of the Liturgy. In speaking of confession, he admonishes Athanasius to make careful choice of suitable priests, both secular and religious, as confessors, and to do his utmost to secure that the faithful come to confession four times a year, or at the very least before Easter. He directs that prayer-oil (extreme unction) is to be administered by not less than two priests, and if possible by seven, and also that it is to be administered to those who are spiritually as well as bodily sick. After some further directions connected with requiem Masses, and with the due supply of

¹ Hurz., p. 34; Slav., p. 80.

² Schag., p. 76, note.

ornaments and utensils for the Church, he goes on to speak of the veneration due to icons, to the Book of the Gospels, and to the Holy Cross, and of the position of the Saints as intercessors with Christ on our behalf. He then finishes this part of his instruction with dwelling on the necessity of good works as an indispensable accompaniment to orthodox faith.

Article 20 is of special importance, because it regulates the relationship between the Roumanian Church in Transylvania and the patriarchal see of Constantinople. Athanasius is directed in this article to hold a general Synod twice or at least once a year, at which all difficulties or disputes which have arisen in the Metropolitanate may be discussed. But if any point presents special difficulty and cannot be settled by the Synod, it is to be referred to the Metropolitan of Ugro-Wallachia as Exarch of the Patriarchal throne. In case the question should prove beyond the competency of the Exarch to decide, it must be referred finally to the Patriarch of Constantinople and his council, in accordance with the canons of the Council of Chalcedon. Article 21 reiterates the importance of adhering closely to the doctrines and sacraments of the Eastern Church and of teaching the orthodox faith carefully. For this purpose Dositheus recommends the use of a book called the *Orthodox Confession*, which had lately been translated into Roumanian, only stipulating that in all cases of doubtful translation the Greek text should be carefully consulted. The last Article (22) exhorts Athanasius to personal purity of life, to the avoidance of all simoniacal practices, which it must

be feared were growing rife, and to single-hearted devotion to the solemn duties of his office. The instruction closes by commending him to the mercy and favour of Jesus Christ, and is signed as follows: 'Given at Bucharest, in the month of January 1698. Dositheus, by the grace of God, Patriarch of the holy city Jerusalem, to the humble Athanasius, Bishop of the country of Siebenburgen' (Transylvania).¹ Such was the substance of the instruction given by the Patriarch Dositheus to Athanasius at his consecration, but to which unhappily he was far from faithful, as circumstances were soon to show. On his return to Transylvania he summoned a Synod of clergy and laity at Karlsburg, at which the advantages of the Union were earnestly pressed. Of the clergy, some were genuinely in favour of the step, others, perhaps the greater part, were over-persuaded or intimidated. The lay deputies had probably but little real knowledge of the points in dispute.²

¹ Schag., pp. 73-82; quoted from the ancient Chronicle of Ordinations of the Metropolitans of Ugro-Wallachia.

² Hurzumaki gives the date of the Act of Union as October 7, 1698. Schaguna, on the contrary, dates it September 5, 1700. It is difficult to reconcile the discrepancy. Schaguna mentions the general assembly which began on July 7, 1698, but asserts that nothing definite was done. He seems to imply that matters dragged on from that date till the Act of Union was finally signed in September 1700. The point chiefly in favour of Schaguna's date is the presentation of lands to the Metropolitanate of Karlsburg by the Prince of Wallachia, in June 1700. The prince would scarcely have made such a grant if the Metropolitan had already seceded from the Orthodox Church, followed by a large proportion of his flock. It is also difficult to understand the various rescripts issued by the Emperor between 1698 and 1701 if the Union was already consummated and the Orthodox Roumanian Church regarded as non-existent. I have therefore preferred to follow Schaguna's dates in this matter.

As a result of this conference, it was reported to the Government that the Roumanians had accepted the proposed union. Consequently in the beginning of the following year (February 16, 1699), the Emperor issued a royal diploma, confirming all the privileges and immunities which had been promised to the Uniats, both clergy and laity. This diploma was countersigned by Cardinal Kollonicz.¹ But the discontent amongst those Roumanians who were opposed to the Union was only increased by this measure, while the various Protestant denominations were equally exasperated by it. The Emperor deemed it wise to issue a further rescript on August 6, 1699, reiterating the fact that the Roumanians were perfectly free to adopt whichever of the 'received' religions they pleased or to adhere to their own, with, of course, its attendant disabilities. This rescript was followed by another on September 26, 1699, in which the terms of union between the Roumanians and the Roman Catholic Church were set forth in a manner so much more favourable to the latter than the former that Athanasius and such of his clergy who desired the union were constrained to protest, in the fear that after all they would not gain much by their apostacy.

The protest was favourably received at Vienna, and the fears of the Roumanians were allayed by another imperial rescript, issued on December 12, 1699.² So

¹ Schag., pp. 83-87.

² Hurzumaki dates this rescript December 22, 1701. The interval would seem too long. For the full text of the rescript, see Schaguna, pp. 83-94.

matters dragged on through the early months of 1700. Athanasius, and those of his clergy who shared his policy, found it no easy matter to persuade or even to coerce the rest of the clergy, and especially the laity, to follow them in concluding the union with Rome. As late as June 13th of this year we find the Prince of Wallachia, John Constantine Bassarab, making a present of estates in Wallachia to the see of Karlsburg, and addressing Athanasius and his Synod in terms of affectionate reverence.¹

But Athanasius was determined to carry through his purpose, and on September 4, 1700, he summoned a great Synod at Karlsburg. This Synod was attended by all the clergy and arch-priests of the diocese, together with three lay deputies from each parish. It met at the monastery of the Holy Trinity, and Athanasius began the proceedings by setting forth all the advantages to be derived from union with Rome. He encountered much opposition on the part of the laity from the districts of Hunyad, Hermannstadt, and Kronstadt. They allowed themselves to be overpersuaded, however, by the clergy and such of the laity as were favourable to the project, and at the next sitting the union was formally decided upon. It was resolved to accept the four points which the Roman Catholic Church put forward, while demanding on the Roumanian side that the ritual and discipline of the Roumanian Church should remain untouched, so far as it did not conflict with the Roman Catholic faith.

¹ Schag., p. 95.

The formal Act of Union, which was signed on September 5, 1700, runs as follows :—

‘ We, the undersigned, bishop, arch-priests, and clergy of the Roumanian Church in Siebenburgen (Transylvania) and the adjoining districts, do hereby announce and declare to all whom it may concern, and especially to the Estates of Siebenburgen, that we, having considered the fleeting uncertainties of human life and the immortality of the soul, which must be considered before all else, have of our own free will, and out of a desire for the honour of the Divine Name, entered into union with the Roman Catholic Church. We do accept, acknowledge, and believe all that she accepts, acknowledges, and believes, and in particular those four points on which we have been divided hitherto, and which were laid before us by the gracious decree and diploma of His Imperial Majesty and of his Eminence the Archbishop, and we desire in consequence to enjoy all the rights and privileges which the clergy of our holy Mother the Church do enjoy in accordance with the laws of our former gracious Kings of Hungary. Similarly we desire, in virtue of the above-mentioned decree of his Majesty and of his Eminence the archbishop, to be reckoned members henceforward of the same Church. For the greater confirmation and attestation of which we have signed this manifesto with our signature and sealed it with the seal of the monastery of Alba Julia, and with our customary seal.

Alba Julia (Karlsburg), Sept. 5, 1700.

The Metropolitan Athanasius.

Here are said to have followed the signatures of fifty-four arch-priests and one thousand five hundred and sixty-three priests; but the number of those who signed is disputed, and it seems certain that the laity did not sign at all. Subsequent history makes it evident that the Union was very unpopular with a large number of the Roumanians, and was in fact

repudiated by them, so that from this time onwards there have been two Roumanian churches in Austria, the United or Greek Catholic and the non-United or Greek Orthodox. The latter represents the old national Roumanian Church in Hungary and Transylvania, which has always remained loyal to the orthodox faith which it learned from Constantinople in the early centuries of Christianity. The Act of Union was naturally received with great rejoicing in Vienna, whither Athanasius was summoned to receive the congratulations of the Emperor in March 1700.¹ He was appointed bishop of the newly-constituted Uniat Church, and was consecrated to that office in the Church of S. Anne according to the Roman rite. In addition to an imperial diploma confirming his consecration in most flattering terms, the Emperor decorated him with a golden chain and cross, presented him with a picture of himself, and appointed him to be one of the imperial councillors. Athanasius then returned to Karlsburg, where his supporters and all those who favoured the Union had prepared for him a magnificent reception.

It was further stipulated that he should receive a yearly salary of four thousand florins from the royal treasury. Thus Athanasius appeared to have obtained the object for which he and his predecessor, Theophilus, had been striving, although at the cost of rending the Roumanian Church in twain and detaching a considerable portion of the Roumanians from their hereditary allegiance to Constantinople and the orthodox Greek faith.

¹ Schag., pp. 103-4 ; Hurz., p. 56.

As a matter of fact the immediate results of the Union by no means corresponded with the sanguine expectations which its promoters had entertained. The new Uniat Church found itself subordinated in every particular to the Primate of Hungary, while all its deliberations had to be attended and guided by a Roman Catholic theologian specially appointed for this purpose, and called the 'causarum generalis auditor.' So great indeed was the mistrust entertained by the Roman Catholic authorities of the fidelity of the Uniat bishop and his flock that he was forbidden to correspond with the Prince of Wallachia or with any Greek or Servian Patriarch.¹

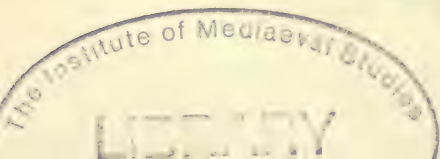
On the other hand the Austrian Government found itself unable to fulfil its pledges of giving equal civil and social rights to the Roumanians, owing to the intense jealousy of the Magyars and Saxons. The latter bitterly resented the liberties granted to the Uniat Roumanians, and in particular their claim to representation in the Diet. These disappointments brought with them such great discontent, that by 1730 most of the laity had seceded from the Union, and it is probable that the clergy would have followed suit, and the whole movement might have collapsed, had it not been that just at this juncture Pataki, the Greek Catholic bishop, died, and was succeeded by Innocent Klein, a man of remarkable energy and force of character. He at once perceived that if the Uniat Church was to endure it must represent the rallying point for

¹ Hurz., p. 54.

Roumanian nationalism, and must be as independent as possible of all external authority. To this object he addressed himself indefatigably; he succeeded in gaining a seat in the Diet, and obtained, in 1743, the passing of a law which gave equal rights to the Uniat Roumanians with those enjoyed by the Magyars and Saxons. At the same time he promoted the educational welfare of his people by every means in his power, and it was due to his efforts that a second Greek Catholic bishopric was established at Grosswardein in 1748. His ceaseless activity made him an object of special dislike to the Magyars and Germans, and in 1768 they obtained his deposition and banishment from the authorities at Rome. His successor, Petru Aaron, was a more moderate man, but he continued to work on the lines of his zealous predecessor, and established at Blasendorf—which had now become the seat of the Uniat bishopric—a seminary for priests, schools, and a printing press. Thus the growth and national life of the Uniat Roumanian Church was steadily fostered by its adherents, till in 1850—when Bishop Schaguna began to work actively for the reconstitution of the orthodox Roumanian Church—Rome granted all that it had withheld hitherto.

The see of Blasendorf was raised to the rank of a Metropolitanate, two new bishoprics were granted at Lugos and Samos-Ujvar, and all four bishoprics were placed under the jurisdiction of the Uniat Metropolitan.¹

¹ Slav., pp. 82-89.



CHAPTER IV

1700-1783

THE establishment of the Uniat Church left the orthodox Roumanians who adhered to their old religion in a deplorable condition.

Their existence was not formally recognised by the state at all, since by the Act of Union all Roumanians were supposed to belong to the Uniat Church, and those who refused to join the Union, or subsequently fell away from it, were liable to be persecuted as schismatics. The orthodox see of Karlsburg became for a time the residence of the Uniat bishop, most of the parish churches were handed over to the Uniats, and all Roumanians were compelled to support the Uniat priests.

Nevertheless a large proportion of the Roumanians, especially the laity, clung to the orthodox faith, and sought the consolations of religion wherever they could obtain them.

Some went to Bucharest or Rimnik in Wallachia, others to Suczava, on the borders of Moldavia, which is still a place of pilgrimage for Roumanians from Transylvania, owing to the preservation there of the relics of S. John of Suczava.

Others again had recourse to the Servian priests belonging to the newly-established orthodox Metropolitanate of Karlowitz.

The hierarchy of the Uniat Church showed itself very hostile to all Roumanians—but especially to the clergy—who remained outside the Union, and in this attitude they were at first warmly supported by the State. During a vacancy in the Uniat see, which occurred in 1728, a Synod was held at Klausenburg under the Rector of the Jesuits, at which it was resolved that all arch-priests, assisted by their clergy, should hold courts in their respective districts and report to the Rector any Roumanians who fell away from the Union. Further, the Synod decided to prohibit all monks from administering the Sacraments or preaching, and to petition the Diet to expel them from the country.

This measure was doubtless dictated by the fact that the monasteries formed strongholds for the orthodox faith, and also provided the people with the means of grace which they could no longer obtain in their parish churches. Another decision of this same Synod prohibited parents from sending their children to schismatical or heretical—*i.e.* orthodox—schools under payment of a considerable fine for each offence. These measures were followed by others of a curiously oppressive character. Any Roumanian who desired to secede from the Union to his original faith was subjected to a six weeks' examination at the hands of the Uniat priest, and if he or she was found during that interval to have attended an orthodox church the

period was extended for another six weeks. Some priests in the district of Hermannstadt were deprived by the secular authorities for having ministered to some gipsies living in the neighbourhood. Another priest from Hatzeg was similarly deprived, and given a month's imprisonment for exercising his calling amongst the Uniats. Especially hard was the case of an earnest orthodox priest named John Molnar, who strove to raise the spiritual condition of his people by going about the county of Marmaros, and preaching at the village fairs. He was denounced by the Union to the civil authorities, who imprisoned him and transported him to Blasendorf. Here he was unlawfully degraded, and his head was shorn, so that he enjoyed ever after the nickname of John the Shaven. On being released from prison, and returning to his own native village of Pogaceva, near Thorda, he was most enthusiastically received by his people, who flocked around him from all parts. This aroused the indignation of the authorities against him, and he was again committed to prison, first in the castle of Maros Vasarhely and then in Vienna. Eventually the charges against him as a disturber of the peace were dismissed, and he was released for the second time; but finding that the hatred of his old enemies was still as active as ever he withdrew to the Banat, where he ended his life.

About this time the orthodox Roumanians were cheered by a visit from a devout monk named Bessarion, who, having spent some time on Mount Athos and at Jerusalem, was desirous of visiting the orthodox monasteries in Transylvania and Hungary.

For this purpose he obtained a letter of commendation from the Servian Metropolitan of Karlowitz, Arsenius Joannovics, and was received everywhere with affection and reverence by the Roumanians. The Government, however, regarded him with considerable mistrust, fearing lest his influence should still further dissuade the Roumanians from joining or adhering to the Union.¹

At this time there were still numerous Roumanian monasteries in Transylvania, of which the principal may be mentioned here. On the river Bistra stood the large monastery of Deda, about a quarter of a mile from the village of the same name.

It contained many monks, and possessed a very fine stone church, the ruins of which may still be seen, while the site of the altar can be traced quite plainly. Many of the pictures, including one of the Blessed Virgin Mary—to whom the church was dedicated—now adorn the parish church of Deda, whither they were removed when the monastery was destroyed and the monks driven out, some two hundred years ago.

Another monastery at Prislopu, near Hatzeg, was founded by a daughter of one of the Wallachian princes, between 1560 and 1580. Near Klausenburg was the monastery of Szamosfalva. It was built of wood, and was still in existence at the end of the eighteenth century, being destroyed during the reign of the Emperor Joseph II. Even after part of the monastic buildings had been removed and utilised in building

¹ The following particulars have been taken almost as they stand from Schaguna, pp. 51-56.

the parish church of Szamosfalva, the monastic church was still used for requiem Masses.

Schaguna, in his history, mentions a very old man from the village of Szamosfalva, who could recollect the monastery as it stood deep in the forest to the south of the village, and who, as a boy, had waited upon the last monk who lived there. The pious monk made his bed of leaves, and used a bare board for his pillow. Another important monastery was that of Obersambata, which possessed a specially fine church, built partially at the expense of Prince Constantine Brankovich of Wallachia. The church was beautifully painted in 1767; and although now it is in a ruinous condition, many of the mural paintings of the Saints remain, and have retained all their vivid colouring. All along the foot of the Fogaras mountains, in the south of Transylvania, lay numerous small monasteries and cells for single monks, but they were mostly destroyed for political reasons about 1760, and their property was confiscated. The destruction and decay of these monasteries constituted another hindrance to the development of the spiritual life of the orthodox Roumanians. Yet they struggled on bravely against their difficulties till the accession of Maria Theresa to the Austrian throne brought some alleviation in their condition. It was becoming increasingly difficult to treat the orthodox Roumanians in Transylvania—who now numbered 124,000 families—as non-existent, or as belonging by a fiction to the Union, and their constant petitions for proper spiritual oversight could no longer be safely disregarded. The question thus became a

pressing one, whether or not a bishop should be appointed for the non-united Roumanians, and their existence thus legally recognised.

Maria Theresa was strongly urged by her chancellor, Kaunitz, in 1768, to grant the appointment of a bishop. He presented her with a memorandum in favour of the Roumanians, and pointed out that the continued refusal of their request might be followed by disturbances and revolts which would be specially disastrous to the country at that time.

The Queen did not immediately comply with the memorandum, but in July 1759 she issued a rescript to the Uniat Bishop of Karlsburg, forbidding any further persecution of the orthodox Roumanians—whether clergy or laity—on account of their refusal to join the Union. This was followed in 1761 by the appointment of the Servian bishop of Ofen, Dionysius Novakovich, to have the oversight of the orthodox Roumanians in Transylvania. His position, however, was one of great difficulty, and his efforts to keep the peace between the Uniat and orthodox Roumanians, and to maintain a loyal attitude towards the Austrian throne, were much misunderstood by his excitable co-religionists. Moreover, the persecutions of the orthodox Roumanians by the Uniat clergy did not cease with the rescript of 1759, as the following pathetic petition addressed by the Roumanians of Bistra to Bishop Dionysius may show. They describe their condition in these words:—

‘Uniat clergy, accompanied by Catholic soldiers, go about searching every Roumanian village. They seize six village elders, and ask them, “Will you adhere to the Union?”

Those who answer "no" are put in irons, and thrown into prison. Many are examined, with cruel floggings; and others, who cannot be imprisoned, are punished with a fine of from twenty to thirty florins. Moreover, the German troops in the different villages levy heavy exactions and consume the small stores of the needy landowners. We are wasting away in body and soul: we die without confession and communion just like cattle, and like sheep without a shepherd. If you, most reverend sir, do not have pity on us, and bring us help and comfort, we will not return to our homes any more, where imprisonment and punishment await us, but will go to other countries where we can remain undisturbed in our religion, for we are resolved to die rather than to accept the Union. If it be possible, send us non-Uniat priests, so that we may not perish altogether.'¹

Dionysius hesitated to send priests to Bistra, but he made a visitation of his diocese in Transylvania, ordaining priests where necessary, and endeavouring to restore peace and order in the orthodox Roumanian Church. He died in 1770, and was succeeded by Sophronius Kirilowics, archimandrite of the monastery of Grabovatz. Both these bishops laboured earnestly for the welfare of the Roumanian Church, which had been temporarily intrusted to their charge. But the Roumanians were becoming more and more desirous of possessing a bishop of their own, who would, as they apparently believed, ensure them more effectually against being drawn into the Union. In this they were loyally supported by the Servian Metropolitan of Karlowitz, Stephen Stratimirovics, as well as by the bishops of Ofen. In the meantime Joseph II. had succeeded

¹ Slav., pp. 89-90.

Maria Theresa in 1780, and was disposed to favour the cause of the orthodox Roumanians. In 1783 he acceded to their repeated and earnest request for a bishop; and on the proposal of the Archbishop of Karlowitz, he nominated Gideon Nikities, archimandrite of the monastery of Sischatovacz in the diocese of Karlowitz, to be bishop of the non-United Roumanian Church in Transylvania. The new bishop was to have his see at Hermannstadt. He was to be independent in the ecclesiastical administration of his diocese; but in purely spiritual and doctrinal matters he was to be subject to the Metropolitan of Karlowitz. On this point the rescript of November 6, 1783, by which the new Roumanian bishopric was constituted, is quite clear. It runs as follows: 'Ut episcopus (Graeco non-Unitus in Transsilvania) in dogmaticis et pure spiritualibus ab Excellentia Vestra [Metropolitan of Karlowitz] et synodo archiepiscopali [the episcopal synod of Karlowitz] dependeat.'¹ The new bishop was to have a seat and a vote in the archbishop's synod at Karlowitz, but was not to participate in any of the privileges which had been granted to the Serbs since their settlement in Hungary. However, the first important step towards the reconstitution of the orthodox Roumanian Church in Austria-Hungary had now been won. Nearly a century more was to elapse before its complete independence could be attained.

¹ Radič, p. 53, note 3; Schag., pp. 118, 119, note.

CHAPTER V

1783-1873

BISHOP GIDEON NIKITICS set to work earnestly to reform his diocese, but he found a hard task before him. Eighty-three years of neglect and lack of proper spiritual and educational supervision had reduced both clergy and laity to a wretched condition. It will be remembered that in virtue of the Act of Union, most of the Roumanian parish churches—even where the population was preponderatingly orthodox—had been made over to the Uniats. Consequently both churches and schools were lacking, and there was no money to provide fresh ones. Ignorance and poverty prevailed everywhere, while the diocese was so large as to render the proper supervision of it by one bishop almost an impossibility. Nevertheless, Bishop Gideon struggled bravely with his gigantic task. He directed his efforts specially towards the better education of his people, and succeeded in obtaining in 1786 a royal rescript to assist him in the work of founding and maintaining schools. When the money which could be collected from the Roumanians themselves was insufficient, the bishop was allowed by this rescript to apply for assistance to the funds which were maintained by Transylvania and Hungary for educational purposes.

Moreover, special encouragement was promised to those Roumanian communities which undertook to build schools for themselves; and in counties where the Roumanians were too poor to build schools in their villages, it was arranged that the pupils from several villages should attend the same school.¹

Although the bishop took his title from Hermannstadt, there was no residence there for him to live in, and there was no money to build one. But a private house was placed at his disposal at Resinar, a large village, about a mile and a half from Hermannstadt; and here he lived and directed the troubled affairs of his diocese to the best of his ability.

Unfortunately the heavy and multifarious labours in which Bishop Gideon found himself involved completely broke down his health. He died at Resinar in 1788, and was buried in the old church there. During the temporary vacancy of the see, the diocese was administered by the proto-presbyter of Hondel, John Popovics by name. In May 1789 Gerasim Adamowicz, archimandrite of Bezdiu, in the Banat, was appointed bishop by the Emperor on the recommendation of the Archbishop of Karlowitz.

Gerasim proved himself to be as earnest and energetic as his predecessor Nikitics in working for the temporal and spiritual welfare of his flock, while he succeeded by his tact and moderation in allaying the strife and jealousy which had existed hitherto between the Uniat and Orthodox churches. Through his

¹ Schag., pp. 144-5. See also Appendix, where further information is given on the Roumanian communes and their schools.

unwearying efforts the Diet of Transylvania passed a law in 1791 which granted a legal position to the non-United Roumanian Church, so that the orthodox faith ceased to be—at least in principle—a merely ‘tolerated’ religion.¹

This was not the only benefit which Bishop Gerasim conferred upon his co-religionists during his brief episcopate, for in conjunction with the Uniat bishop, Joan Bob, he obtained many political advantages for the Roumanian people as a nation. Unfortunately his episcopal career was cut short by an early death in 1796. He was buried beside Gideon Nikitics in Resinar.²

The see of Hermannstadt now remained vacant for fourteen years, and was administered during this period by the proto-presbyter of Hunyad, John Hutzovics. It will have been noticed that both bishops who occupied the restored see of Hermannstadt were Serbs and not Roumanians by nationality. This was due to the fact that after the creation of the Uniat Church the orthodox Roumanians were obliged to turn to the Servian priests and bishops of the diocese of Karlowitz for spiritual guidance. Most of the proto-presbyters in the Roumanian districts were Serbs, and indeed poverty and lack of education made it almost a necessity for the Roumanians to draw at least their leading clergy from the ranks of the Servian hierarchy. Moreover, by identifying themselves with the Servian nation they derived some protection from the privileged position

¹ Art. 60, an. 1791 ; Schag., pp. 121-2.

² Schag., pp. 120-2 ; Slav., 96-8 ; Hurz., 204.

which Leopold I. had granted to the Serbs on their settlement in Austria in 1691. Consequently when Joseph II. restored its independence to the orthodox Roumanian Church in 1783, no Roumanian could be found capable of filling the newly-erected see of Hermannstadt. It was quite natural then that the first two bishops should be Serbs, and they were gladly welcomed by the people. But the fifteen years which had elapsed between 1783 and 1796—during which the Roumanians had had the advantage of being directed by two devoted bishops—had made an immense difference in their moral, spiritual, and intellectual condition. It was now quite possible to find a candidate for the episcopate amongst the Roumanians themselves. Consequently, on the death of Gerasim Adamowicz in 1796, they petitioned the Austrian Government to allow them their ancient right of electing their own archbishop, nor were they hindered in this desire by the Archbishop of Karlowitz. Nevertheless, as we have said above, fourteen years more elapsed before the Government acceded to the repeated petitions of the Roumanian clergy and people on this point. On August 13, 1810, the Emperor Francis I. issued a decree giving the necessary permission, but stipulating that the bishop-elect should be a Roumanian by birth and chosen from the ranks of the Roumanian clergy. In conformity with this decree the Consistory Court of Proto-presbyters met at Thorda, on September 19, to elect their own bishop after an interval of more than a hundred years. The election was carried out in due form, under the presi-

dency of the Vicar—as the administrator of the diocese was called—and in the presence of a Royal Commissioner. The names of three candidates for the vacant see were submitted to the Emperor. His choice fell on the second of these candidates, a simple parish priest named Basilius Moga, from the village of South Sebes, near Muhlbach. A slight difficulty arose from the fact that Basilius Moga, although unmarried, was a secular priest. In the Eastern Church all bishops are drawn from the monastic orders, so that before Moga could be consecrated he had to enter the Servian monastery at Kruschedol. Here, after a due period had elapsed, he received the monastic tonsure; and on April 13, 1811, he was consecrated Bishop at Karlowitz, by the Servian Archbishop, Stephen Stratimirovics and the Bishops Gideon Petrovich of Neusatz and Joseph Putnik of Pakratz. The choice was indeed a fortunate one. During his long episcopate of thirty-four years, Basilius Moga devoted himself heart and soul to the welfare of his diocese, which now embraced about a thousand parishes, which were divided amongst thirty-four proto-presbyterates. He took special pains to assist needy students in their theological studies, and instituted a fund for this purpose. Many were enabled in this way to receive a thorough course of instruction at Vienna, which was now permitted to them by a royal rescript issued in 1816. Bishop Moga also obtained permission to send four theological students to the seminary at Ofen, who on the completion of their course could undertake the teaching of theology at Hermannstadt. The result of his efforts was soon

apparent in the increased number of educated students who showed themselves suitable for the ministry of the church. The good work done by Bishop Moga is all the more striking because at the very outset of his ministry, he had received, together with the royal confirmation of his appointment, a most harsh and illiberal 'instruction' from the Emperor. In this instruction the bishop was forcibly reminded that he owed his elevation to the episcopate solely to the imperial favour, and that the retention of his office would depend on his good conduct and submissive attitude to the imperial Government. The Greek orthodox faith was described as a merely 'tolerated' religion—despite the law of 1791—and every advantage was given to the Uniat over the non-Uniat clergy.¹

¹ Schag., pp. 129-34; Hurz., 219-21.

The following are the principal articles dealing with the relations of the Uniat to the orthodox clergy:—

Art. 7. The bishop must not forget that there are four 'received' religions in Transylvania, and that the United clergy and laity are incorporated into the Catholic religion, while the non-United Greek clergy are only tolerated. The bishop must recognise, therefore, that he is forbidden to oppose the spread and propaganda of the Uniat religion; neither may he, nor the clergy under him, venture to persuade the Uniats to secede from the Union, either publicly or secretly. Nor may he convert the adherents of other confessions.

Art. 12. Non-Uniats are permitted to join the Union. When an entire non-Uniat community goes over to the Union the Uniat parish priest is to receive the regular stipend. But when all the Uniats in a community go over to the non-Uniat body, the Uniat parish priest shall retain the stipend.

Art. 14. In communities where Uniats and non-Uniats live together, and there is only one church and this belongs to the Uniats, they shall retain the church although they may be in the minority. The non-Uniats must build themselves another church in accordance with existing regulations, only the people must not be burdened thereby.

These limitations and hindrances, however, did not discourage Bishop Moga. He succeeded amongst other things in raising enough money to buy a suitable house for an episcopal residence at Hermannstadt, thus obviating the necessity for the bishop to reside at Resinar as hitherto. He also founded a clergy school with a six months' course of theological instruction, and bequeathed to his clergy another house at Hermannstadt, with an endowment of 27,000 florins, to serve for the promotion of both religious and secular study. After thirty-four years of unceasing labour for the welfare of all sections of his community, he ended his long life on October 27, 1845, deeply lamented by his countrymen. The diocese was managed by the Consistory Court till 1846. The Emperor then selected from three names proposed by the Court the protopresbyter Andreas von Schaguna, to be vicar of the diocese till the election of a bishop. This remarkable man, who played so important a part in the restoration of the Orthodox Roumanian Church in Transylvania, was born at Miskolecz in Hungary, in 1809. He came of a Roumanian family who had settled first in Galicia and subsequently in Upper Hungary.

On his father's death young Schaguna went to live with his uncle Athanasius Grabovski at Pesth, where he continued his studies with energy and became acquainted with the language and history of his people in Hungary. This led him to think of dedicating his life to the Roumanian Church, and in 1829 he was sent by his uncle to Bishop Manuilovic at Werchetz, where he studied theology till 1833. He was ordained in the

Servian monastery of Hoppova, taking the name of Andreas at his ordination. Subsequently he came to Karlowitz and was made secretary to the Servian Metropolitan, Stephen Stratimirovic. He also filled the position of secretary to the Consistory Court, of librarian and professor, displaying a very marked ability in all these capacities. At the time of his appointment as vicar of the diocese of Hermannstadt, Schaguna was only thirty-seven years of age and was archimandrite of the monastery of Kovil, in the diocese of Neusatz. The new vicar entered upon his duties on September 2, 1846. He found a hard task before him. Although Bishop Moga had done his best to improve the spiritual and social condition of his diocese, much remained to be done. Some idea of the deplorable state of things which prevailed may be gathered from an epistle addressed by the new vicar to his clergy. He laments bitterly that many parish priests at the conclusion of divine service on Sundays go straight to the village tavern, where they spend the remainder of the day in drinking and 'unseemly conversation.' In the same epistle he gives them directions as to how they are to dress when they come into the towns, and forbids them under pain of punishment to go about in 'dirty clothes and with dishevelled hair.' Village schools were few and far between, and indeed were only to be found in the more important districts, where the children of better class parents were taught reading and singing with a view to fitting them for the priesthood. It must be remembered that the village priests were mere peasants like the rest of their flock, and it was con-

sidered quite sufficient if they could read and sing enough to perform the services of the Church. Writing was a rare accomplishment among them. The higher clergy, such as the proto-popes, passed through the six months' theological course at Hermannstadt, and thus received a better education, but the general standard both of morals and education was very low. Schaguna perceived the necessity of electing a new bishop for the diocese without delay. He therefore summoned a meeting of the Consistory Court and drew up a petition to the Emperor, praying him to grant leave for the election of a new bishop. To this petition the Emperor, Ferdinand I., replied on October 20, 1847, granting permission to hold an assembly at Thorda. The assembly was to follow closely the precedent set in the election of Bishop Moga in 1847. The proto-presbyters of the diocese met at Thorda under the presidency of the vicar, and on the arrival of the Royal Commissioners—who represented the Emperor—proceeded to the election of three candidates, whose names should be submitted to the Emperor. Of the three names thus presented, that of Andreas von Schaguna stood third on the list, and it was upon him that the Emperor's choice eventually fell. He was consecrated at Karlowitz, on Sunday, April 18, 1848, by the Archbishop Raiacsics and the Bishops Eugenius Joannovics of Karlstadt and Stephen Popovics of Werschetz. On his return to Karlowitz he received an enthusiastic welcome from his people; and such was the force of his personality and the enthusiasm which he inspired, that many Roumanian communities which had belonged to the Union

for a hundred and fifty years, fell away from it, and returned to their mother church. Indeed, all through his career, Bishop Schaguna was deferred to and respected as much by the Uniats as by his own flock, and he invariably took the lead in all questions affecting the political and religious status of the Roumanian people.¹ The difficulties which Schaguna had to contend with in the administration of his diocese were very much increased by the political disturbances consequent on the Revolution of 1848. On the restoration of peace, Schaguna addressed an earnest pastoral letter to his clergy, exhorting them to labour devotedly for the welfare of their flocks, in which matter indeed he set them an admirable example. Before long he had greatly improved the seminary at Hermannstadt where the Roumanian clergy were educated, had founded various middle-class schools, and established a diocesan printing press at Hermannstadt, from which was issued a magnificent folio edition of the Greek Bible. He was a special admirer of German culture and maintained the best relations with the heads of the large evangelical college at Hermannstadt. Of his own literary works the most important were a *Compendium of Canon Law*, published at Hermannstadt in 1868, and a history of his own diocese, in which he has collected a number of documents of the first importance for the religious and political history of the Roumanians in Transylvania. But the great object of his life was the

¹ Slav., pp. 102-3.

separation of the Roumanian diocese of Hermannstadt from the Servian diocese of Karlowitz, and its erection into an independent Metropolitanate. After twenty years of unceasing labour in this direction his efforts were crowned with success, and in 1866 the see of Hermannstadt was raised to the rank of a Metropolitanate, independent of, but co-ordinate with, the Servian Metropolitanate of Karlowitz. Under this arrangement the two Roumanian bishoprics of Arad (population 557,880) and Karansebes (336,361) in Hungary, which had formerly made part of the Metropolitanate of Karlowitz, were placed under the jurisdiction of Hermannstadt. The administration of the newly created Metropolitanate was determined by a statute which was drawn up by a Roumanian Church Congress, which met at Hermannstadt for this purpose in 1868. This statute was confirmed by a royal rescript, and the Metropolitanate of Hermannstadt has been governed in accordance with its provisions ever since. But it must be allowed that although the statute had the fullest support of Archbishop Schaguna himself, it was distasteful to many of the clergy on account of the preponderating influence which it gave to the laity in the councils and government of the Church.¹

Archbishop Schaguna did not long survive the attainment of his life's object. He died in 1873 and was buried at Resinar, amidst the lamentations of the entire Roumanian people, who recognised that they had

¹ For an outline of this statute, see Appendix.

lost in him both a spiritual father and a great national leader.

Since his death there has been a steady improvement in the condition of the Roumanians in Austria-Hungary, both amongst the clergy and laity, although no doubt much yet remains to be done which only time and a more widely diffused education can accomplish.

APPENDIX

THE METROPOLITANATE OF HERMANNSTADT

PAROCHIAL ORGANISATION

(a) *The Parish Priest*

The parish clergy, chaplains, and deacons are elected by the Parish Synod, under the presidency of the proto-presbyter of the district.

Any applicant for the post of parish priest must have passed the bishop's examination successfully. (This examination is conducted at the bishop's see by a specially appointed commission.)

The result of the election is submitted by the proto-presbyter of the district to the Diocesan Consistory Court, which, if the election has been duly carried out, obtains the bishop's confirmation.

(b) *The Parish Synod*

The Parish Synod consists of all the parishioners who are of age, of independent means, and good life.

It meets once a year in January. The parish priest is president, or, if the Synod is proceeding to elect a parish priest, the proto-presbyter of the district presides.

Its resolutions are submitted to the Diocesan Consistory Court by the proto-presbyter.

Its duties comprise :—

- (1) The election and payment of the clergy, school-teachers, and other officials.
- (2) The keeping in repair of the church, and any church and school buildings, together with the foundation of churches, schools, and benevolent institutions.

- (3) The election of deputies to the Diocesan Assembly and the National Church Congress.

(c) *The Parish Committee*

The Parish Committee consists of the parish priest, who is *ex officio* member, and ten to thirty members elected for three years by the Parish Synod.

The Committee elects its president and secretary from its own body. It represents the Church community in its relation to all outside affairs, and manages the finances and endowments of churches and schools. It sits twice a year, in May and December.

(d) *The Parish Guardians*

These are elected by the Parish Synod for three years from the whole parish community, and their number varies from two to four according to the number of parishioners. They are intrusted with the maintenance of the church and school property, and its administration in accordance with the resolutions of the Parish Synod.

In places where several church communities keep up one or more schools in common there are also

(e) *School Guardians*, and

(f) *A School Committee*.¹

DIOCESAN ORGANISATION

(a) *The Bishop*

The bishop is elected by a Diocesan Assembly, consisting of twenty clerical and forty lay delegates, under the presidency of the Metropolitan, or, more usually, his deputy.

The bishop-elect is presented to the Episcopal Synod to be canonically examined, and to receive the confirmation of his election from the Synod.

¹ Milaš, pp. 361-2 ; Organic Statute, 21-29, Hermannstadt, 1868.

(b) *The Diocesan Assembly*

The Diocesan Assembly corresponds, within the diocese, in jurisdiction and composition to the National Church Congress.

(c) *The Diocesan Consistory Court*

The Diocesan Consistory Court corresponds to the Metropolitan Consistory Court.

It falls into three sub-divisions.

Its members are elected by the Diocesan Assembly.¹

(d) *Proto-presbyters*

Each district in the diocese has its proto-presbyter, who is elected by representatives of the clergy and laity of the district.

The proto-presbyter is assisted in the administration of his district by—

- (1) A Proto-presbyterial Court of Justice for all judicial questions.
- (2) A Proto-presbyterial Assembly for the administrative and financial affairs of the churches and schools, with a Proto-presbyterial Committee and a Proto-presbyterial Board of Guardians attached to it.²

NATIONAL ORGANISATION

(a) *The Metropolitan of Hermannstadt*

The Metropolitan is elected by the Metropolitan Church Congress, which is composed for this purpose of one hundred and twenty deputies (*i.e.* one fourth above the ordinary number).

Forty are clergy and eighty are laymen. One half of these represent the Archbishopric of Hermannstadt, and the other the two subordinate dioceses of Arad and Karansebes.³

¹ Milaš, p. 344.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 345-8.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 303-4.

A delegate from the Metropolitan Consistory Court presides.

In the event of no candidate receiving an absolute majority of votes, the election is narrowed down to the two candidates who have polled the greatest number of votes.

If the result should again be indecisive the election is decided by lot.

The result of the election is submitted to the Sovereign for confirmation, after which the new Metropolitan is installed.

(b) *National Church Congress*

The National Church Congress consists of :—

The Metropolitan, as president (in his absence the senior bishop presides),

The diocesan bishops,

Thirty clerical and sixty lay deputies, who are elected for three years.

The National Church Congress meets every three years.

It is summoned by the Metropolitan, or, if the see should be vacant, by the Metropolitan Consistory Court, but due notice of its meeting must be given to the Crown.

Its duties comprise :—

- (1) The maintenance of religious liberty and self-government in the Græco-Oriental Roumanian Church.
- (2) The management of Church and school affairs.
- (3) The election of the Metropolitan, and of the assessors of the Metropolitan Consistory Court.

(c) *The Metropolitan Consistory Court*

This court is the highest administrative and judicial body in the Metropolitanate.

It consists of :—

The Metropolitan as president,

The diocesan bishops.

A certain number of honorary assessors elected by the National Church Congress from amongst its members, both clerical and lay.

The Metropolitan Consistory Court is divided into three Senates :—

- (1) The Ecclesiastical Senate,
- (2) The Senate of Education,
- (3) The Senate of Guardians.

The Ecclesiastical Senate has six assessors, all clergy.

The other Senates have the same number of assessors, but only two are clergy and four are laity.

The Metropolitan is president of all three Senates, and they have also a secretary and treasurer in common.

To these a solicitor is added for all questions of marriage and divorce.

The Ecclesiastical Senate is a Court of Appeal for all ecclesiastical causes.

The Senate of Education is the highest administrative authority for the affairs of all religious schools and institutions.

The Senate of Guardians manages the funds of the Metropolitanate.

The secretary and treasurer are elected at the general sittings of the Metropolitan Consistory Court, in which the members of all three Senates take part.

The summoning of the National Church Congress, and the election of deputies to it, are also undertaken by the Metropolitan Consistory Court at its general sittings.

(d) *The Episcopal Synod*

The Episcopal Synod consists of :—

The Metropolitan as president, and the diocesan bishops.

The Synod meets once a year, and all the diocesan bishops are bound to attend.

Its duties comprise:—

- (1) The canonical examination of every diocesan bishop at his election.
- (2) The settlement of all questions relating to doctrine, ritual, and the Sacraments, and also the oversight of the morals of the clergy and people.
- (3) The inspection of theological and educational establishments, with a view to ascertaining whether their functions are being properly fulfilled.
- (4) The maintenance of the liberties of the Church against any interference.¹

¹ Milaš, pp. 311-13.

Eastern Church Association.

OBJECTS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

- (1) To give information as to the state and position of the Eastern Christians, in order gradually to better their condition through the influence of public opinion.
 - (2) To make known to the Christians of the East the doctrine and principles of the Anglican Church.
 - (3) To take advantage of all opportunities which the Providence of God shall afford for Intercommunion with the Orthodox Church, and also for friendly intercourse with the other ancient Churches of the East.
 - (4) To assist as far as possible the Bishops of the Orthodox Church in their efforts to promote the spiritual welfare and the education of their flocks.
-

The Eastern Church Association was originally founded by the Rev. GEORGE WILLIAMS about forty years ago. It was revived in 1893 with the object of arousing interest in the Churches of the East, and of attempting to influence public opinion on the best methods of Missionary efforts in those countries where remains of the great Eastern Churches still exist. With this object in view it has produced various publications, and would be glad to add to their number did funds permit; it has twice sent representatives to the East, accounts of whose visits have been published in the Annual Reports; and it has maintained in Cyprus an English Clergyman who has been engaged in teaching and in other work connected with the Church of the Island.

At present the Association is somewhat hampered by want of funds. It is very desirable that the number of members should be increased, and that meetings should be held to promote the objects of the Association. Any who are desirous of becoming Members are requested to communicate with the Rev. C. R. DAVEY BIGGS, D.D., St. Philip and St. James' Vicarage, Oxford, Secretary of the Association.

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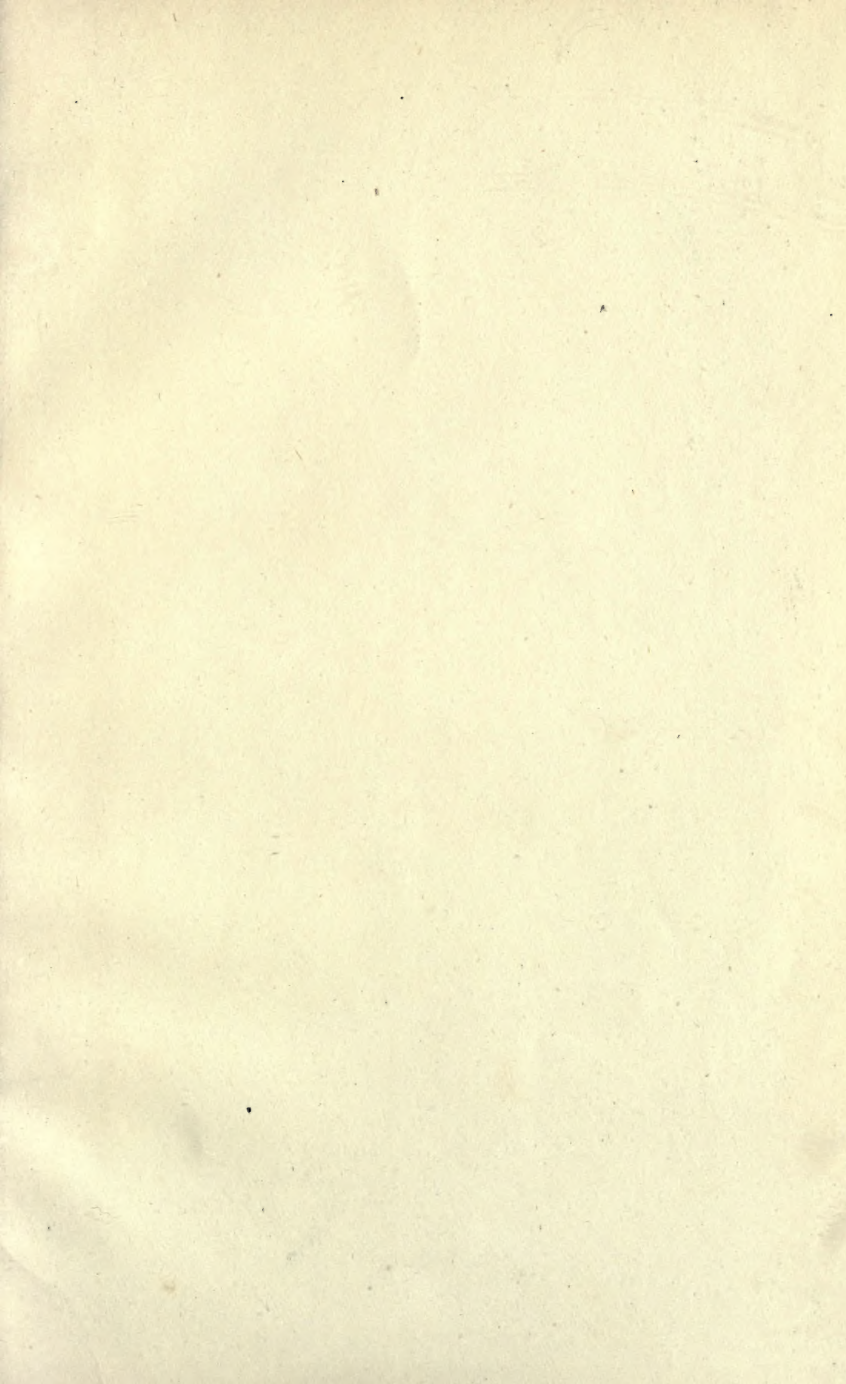
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